

EXHIBIT 95

Declaration of Richard H. Kohn

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA
CASE NO. 1:14-CV-954**

**STUDENTS FOR FAIR
ADMISSIONS, INC.,**

Plaintiff,

v.

**UNIVERSITY OF NORTH
CAROLINA et al.,**

Defendants.

DECLARATION OF RICHARD H. KOHN

DECLARATION OF RICHARD H. KOHN

I, Richard H. Kohn, hereby make this declaration from my personal knowledge and, if called to testify to these facts, could and would do so competently:

Background

1. I received my Bachelor of Arts in History from Harvard University in 1962. In 1964, I earned my Master of Science degree in History from the University of Wisconsin. In 1968, I received my Doctor of Philosophy degree in History from the University of Wisconsin.
2. I began my teaching career as an Assistant Professor of History at The City College of the City University of New York in 1968. In 1971, I began teaching History at Rutgers University-New Brunswick. From 1980 to 1981, I served as Harold K. Johnson Visiting Professor of Military History at the United States Army Military History Institute and taught at the Army War College. From 1985 to 1990, I was an Adjunct Professor at the National War College. I served as the Chief Historian and the Chief of the Office of Air Force History from 1981 to 1991. I was twice elected President of the Society for Military History, and I served from 1989 to 1993.
3. From 1991 to 1993, I was an Associate Professor of History at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill ("UNC-Chapel Hill" or the "University"). From 1993 to 2011, I was a Professor of History at UNC-Chapel Hill. I served as the Chair of the Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense from 1992 to 2006. I was the Executive Secretary of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies from 1992 to 2000.

From 1995 to 2011, I was a Fellow at the Institute for the Arts and Humanities. I served as an Adjunct Professor of Peace, War, and Defense from 2006 to 2011.

4. During my career at UNC-Chapel Hill, I also taught at other institutions and engaged in a variety of consulting and other historical projects. From 1998 to 2000, I co-directed a grant-funded study of the gap between the military and civilian society located at Duke University and thus held an appointment as a Professor of Public Policy Studies at the Sanford School of Public Policy there. In the 1990s, I helped a faculty member at Shaw University respond to a U.S Army Request for Proposal for an historically black college or university to study why no African-American soldier won the Medal of Honor in World War II; Shaw won the competition and produced a scholarly study (later published) that resulted in the award of seven Medals of Honor to African-American soldiers (six deceased) in 1997. From 2006 to 2007, I was the Omar N. Bradley Chair in Strategic Leadership at the United States Army War College and at Dickinson College.

5. I am currently a Professor Emeritus of History and Peace, War, and Defense at UNC-Chapel Hill. A true and correct copy of my curriculum vitae is attached hereto as Kohn Declaration Exhibit 1.

Experience with Diversity in the Classroom

6. My primary undergraduate course at UNC-Chapel Hill was a two-semester survey of American military history from colonial times until the present. I also taught small seminars on various aspects of military history, and a one-semester survey of American history.

7. I also taught graduate reading courses and research seminars that focused on war, military policy/strategy/institutions, and civil-military relations. More than half of the students in the graduate program were military officers sent by the military to obtain a Master's or Doctorate of Philosophy degree and to then teach at a military academy or staff position.

8. In my graduate courses, about one-quarter of the students were women and the rest men. Occasionally, there were African-American, Asian, or Hispanic students in my classes.

Educational Benefits of Diversity

9. My father was an attorney who devoted much of his career to civil rights and to fighting racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination, so I had a special interest in helping any student, but particularly African-American students. Like my colleagues, I wanted to recruit African-American students to the graduate program because they are under-represented in the historical profession. Among my PhD students (fifteen finished the degree at UNC-Chapel Hill) were two women (one African-American), and two minority men (one Asian-Pacific Islander and one Native American); two of my Master's degree advisees were African American. However, in terms of the percentages of African-American students in the graduate program, my success in recruiting was minimal. I was always disappointed that there were not more students-of-color.

10. When I first began teaching at the University, I mentored an African-American student. He seemed to have grown up in a relatively isolated community

without extensive contact with White people. He and I had lengthy conversations about his background and about issues of race which I thought were beneficial to both of us.

11. Students from different backgrounds provide diverse experiences and perspectives both in the classroom and outside of class. Having students from diverse backgrounds deepens and broadens their education, expanding their perspectives and understanding, and leading them to question their own assumptions and to develop critical thinking and writing skills that better prepare them for success. Minority faculty are especially helpful; not only can they provide other perspectives, but they offer young people mentorship and role models that can encourage minority students to expand their career ambitions.

12. Higher education in general seems to me at present to lack the diversity of the population of the United States. Just as government, businesses, the professions, and virtually all institutions in America must endeavor to broaden their membership so as to connect with, and serve, the American people, higher education needs to do as well. The only way to change that is to present a different model to the students.

13. In my 20 years at UNC-Chapel Hill, I observed a tendency toward self-segregation among students, not just by race, but also in their social and extracurricular life: living in fraternities and sororities, sticking with friends on athletic teams, and the like. Much of this is natural, but it represented to me the desire to stay in their “comfort zones” and I have always believed that an important function of the college experience is to encourage students to experience life outside those zones, to be exposed to new situations, to strengthen their interpersonal skills, to learn to connect and understand

people of different backgrounds and experiences, and to consider perspectives, ideas, and even values different from their own. I believe it to be the function of a college or university to encourage the lowering of barriers between communities in order to expand the thinking, skills, experiences, and maturation of students—in a very real sense, the essence of education. The University has made efforts, and must continue to make efforts, to promote interaction among diverse students.

14. One major goal of higher education is to prepare students to succeed in the United States, to be aware of and comfortable with diversity, people different from themselves. That is why I encouraged my own children while in high school to volunteer to work with an African-American colleague at the Smithsonian Institution. And it is why in my teaching I always called on students in class who would advance alternative explanations and unconventional answers to inherently ambiguous questions or to the conventional wisdom on a given topic. College is not only absorbing knowledge or preparing for graduate school or the workplace. Education involves not only intellectual, but social growth, learning new habits of thought, becoming comfortable with rigorous, precise thinking, and developing the self-reflection, the discipline, and the agility to thrive in new situations, with different people, and to succeed in situations and environments heretofore unknown, or unexperienced, or never anticipated.

The Benefits of Diversity in the Military

15. Historically, the United States has promoted diversity in its military ranks. From the War for Independence to the present day, the military has recruited nationwide, seeking geographic diversity in order to promote participation and support from the entire

American population. Insofar as possible, the military has sought soldiers from every class, ethnicity, and other diversities so that the armed forces reflect the entire country. Beginning in the late 1940s and the 1970s, the Department of Defense made special efforts to integrate African-Americans (who had always served since colonial times) and women into the ranks. And the military academies, along with other officer accession programs, paid special attention to diversity in order to have the leadership match the diversity of the enlisted forces.

16. Military leaders, to include non-commissioned officers, must be able to relate to a variety of people, diverse not only in race, religion, ethnicity, geographic origins, but values, education, and other characteristics. Trust and confidence between peers, subordinates, and leaders has proven over millennia, supported in modern times by scholarly studies inside the military and out, to be indispensable for combat effectiveness. These factors have led, in recent years, senior military leaders, active and retired, to support through amicus briefs before courts on the recruitment of minorities to the military academies. Leadership, particularly in the stress of battle and in institutions requiring hierarchical authority and rigid discipline—but indeed in most all professions, organizations, and walks of life—requires knowledge and understanding of the work force, to include values, backgrounds, and perspectives, in order to accomplish their purposes. Significantly, the annual officer evaluations include a question about commitment to diversity and equal opportunity.

Conclusion

17. North Carolina, like the rest of the country, is an increasingly diverse state. The State has a higher percentage of African-Americans than most other states, significant Native American groups, and a foreign-born population, particularly Hispanic. UNC-Chapel Hill aims to prepare students for successful lives in North Carolina and beyond. Once out in the work force, graduates will have to work with and embrace a hugely diverse population no matter what their profession or workplace. Furthermore, they, unlike previous generations, our graduates will likely pursue a greater a variety of work experiences without sticking to one job, company, profession, or geographic locale. The U.S. economy is increasingly globalized, making some overseas contact or experience ever more likely. Graduates must be agile, and open-minded, prepared to meet people of different races, cultures, attitudes, and values. If UNC-Chapel Hill does not expose its students to different modes of thought, differing beliefs, and interactions with diverse groups of people, the University will be derelict in its duty and its promise to educate its students. Education is about new experiences, the challenging of conventional thinking, developing not only intellectual but social and interpersonal maturity, and above all the skills to thrive and succeed in unanticipated and ambiguous situations. The leadership of our State and indeed American society will come by and large from our colleges and universities; if they have not been exposed in these formative years to peers in an increasingly diverse arena, they cannot lead. And our society will be the lesser for this failure.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on: July 21, 2017

Richard H. Kohn
Richard H. Kohn

Exhibit 1 to Kohn Declaration

CURRICULUM VITA

RICHARD H. KOHN

July 2017

Professor Emeritus of History; Adjunct Professor Emeritus of Peace, War, and Defense
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Address: 1520 Pinecrest Road
Durham, NC 27705
Telephone: (919) 419-0323
E-mail: rhkohn@unc.edu

EDUCATION

A.B., Harvard University (Magna cum Laude, History), 1962
M.S., University of Wisconsin--Madison, History, 1964
Ph.D., University of Wisconsin--Madison, History, 1968

EMPLOYMENT (INCLUDING VISITING AND PART-TIME APPOINTMENTS)

Assistant Professor of History, City College of the City University of New York, 1968-1971
Professor of History, Rutgers University--New Brunswick (Assistant Professor, 1971-1975;
Associate Professor, 1975-1983; Professor, 1983-1984)
Harold Keith Johnson Visiting Professor of Military History, U.S. Army Military History
Institute/Army War College, Carlisle PA, 1980-1981
Chief, Office of Air Force History and Chief Historian, United States Air Force (Senior
Executive Service, Department of the Air Force), 1981-1991
Adjunct Professor, National War College, Washington, DC, 1985-1990
Visiting Scholar in Strategic Studies, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International
Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC, 1991
Professor of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Associate Professor, 1991-
1993; Professor, 1993-2011; Emeritus Professor, 2011-present); Chairman, Curriculum in
Peace, War, and Defense, 1992-2006; Executive Secretary [Director], Triangle Institute
for Security Studies, 1992-2000; Fellow, Institute for the Arts and Humanities, 1995-
present; Adjunct Professor of Peace, War, and Defense, 2006-2011; Adjunct Emeritus
Professor of Peace, War, and Defense, 2011-present
Professor of Public Policy Studies, Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University,
1998-2000
Omar N. Bradley Chair of Strategic Leadership, US Army War College and Dickinson College,
Carlisle, PA, 2006-2007

GRANTS, AWARDS, HONORS

American Philosophical Society: Penrose Fund Grant, 1970-1971
National Endowment for the Humanities: Bicentennial Grant, 1970-1971

Rutgers University: Research Council Grants, 1971-1977; Faculty Academic Study Program (sabbatical), 1974

Organization of American Historians: Binkley-Stephenson Award (best article, *Journal of American History*), 1973

American Council of Learned Societies: Fellowship, 1977-1978

Department of the Army: Certificates of Appreciation for Patriotic Civilian Service, 1981, 1996

Bowling Green State University: Eleazer Wood Memorial Military History Lecture, 1982

Department of the Air Force: Senior Executive Service compensation step elevations, 1983, 1984, 1986; Senior Executive Service Outstanding Performance Awards, 1987, 1988, 1989; Organizational Excellence Award, 1990; Decoration for Exceptional Civilian Service, 1991

Air Force Historical Foundation: President's Award, 1987

American Antiquarian Society: elected to membership, 1992

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: Dupont Course Development Grant, 1994; William N. Reynolds Research Leave, 1995-1996; Institute for the Arts and Humanities Faculty Fellowship, 1995-1996, Chapman Family Teaching Fellowship, 2005; Order of the Grail-Valkyries, 2001; John L. Sanders Award for Distinguished Undergraduate Teaching and Service, 2003; E. Maynard Adams Lecture, 2008; Order of the Golden Fleece, 2009

Society for Military History: Victory Gondos [now Edwin H. Simmons] Memorial Service Award (for long, distinguished, or particularly outstanding service to the Society for Military History), 1996

Smith-Richardson Foundation Research Grants, 1997, 1998-2001 (with Peter Feaver)

USAF Academy: Harmon Memorial Lecturer in Military History, 1999

Naval War College: Edward S. Miller History Prize (best historical article, *Naval War College Review*, 2002)

Society for Military History/George C. Marshall Foundation: George C. Marshall Lecturer in Military History, 2004 (American Historical Association Annual Meeting, 2004)

University of South Dakota: Herbert S. Schell Lecture in American History, 2005

US Army War College: James J. Whalen Lecture, 2007

Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University: Alvin H. Bernstein Lecture, 2007

American Historical Association: Herbert Feis Award (for distinguished contributions to public history over the past ten years), 2008

Society for Military History: Samuel Eliot Morison Prize (for contributions in the field of military history, extending over time and reflecting a spectrum of scholarly activity contributing significantly to the field), 2009

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

American Historical Association (Local Arrangements Committee, 1968; Council [elected], 1986-1989; Finance Committee, 1986-1989; Co-Chair, *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Future of the AHA, 1987-1988; Special Committee on AHA Publications, 1989-1990; Herbert Feis Award Committee, 2009-2012)

Columbia University Seminar in Early American History and Culture (Nominations Committee, 1973-1976; Steering Committee, 1977-1980)

Consultant, various historical film and video projects, 1972-present

Referee, adviser, and consultant for articles, book manuscripts, reference works, grant applications, and national defense issues for various journals, publishers, organizations, funding agencies, and government offices, 1972-present

Expert Witness, U.S. Indian Claims Commission, 1974

Inter-University Seminar on the Armed Forces and Society (Executive Council, 1977-1987)

Editorial Board, *Papers of William Livingston*, 1977-1987

Editorial Board, *Papers of George Washington*, 1977-present

Ad Hoc Committee on the Middlebrook Cantonment, Bridgewater Township, N.J., 1978-1981

Juror, Pulitzer Prize in History, 1978

Editor, *The American Military Experience*, reprint series of 43 titles in 56 volumes, Arno Press, 1979

Society for Military History Program and Planning Committee, 1979-1985; Trustee [elected], 1981-1989, 1995-1999; Parliamentarian, 1982-1989, Chair, Special Committee on Future of *Military Affairs*, 1986-1987; President [elected two terms], 1989-1993; ex officio, Society Council, 1993-1995; Long-Range Planning Committee, 1996-1998; Chair, Nominations Committee, 2000-2003; Constitutional Committee, 2014-2015

US Army Training and Doctrine Command, Commander's Advisory Committee on Military History Education, 1981-1984

Board of Advisors, *Air University Quarterly/Airpower Journal/Aerospace Power Journal*, 1981-1991, 1996-2002

Ex officio member, Air Force Museum Foundation Board of Managers, 1981-1991

Advisor, Air Force Historical Foundation, 1981-1991

Secretary of the Air Force Committee on Museum Policy, 1982

Co-editor, *Project Warrior Series*, an open-ended collection of original and reprint volumes on military air power, Office of Air Force History, 1983-1991

Air University Blue Ribbon Committee on Faculty Development, 1984

University of Alabama Advisory Committee on Military History Graduate Program for Air University, 1985-1991

Board of Directors, World War II Studies Association, 1985-1988, 1991-1997, 2000-2003

National Air and Space Museum, Smithsonian Institution (Special Committee on Research Programs, 1986; Chair, Collections Management Advisory Committee, 1988-1992; Chair, Advisory Committee on Research and Collections Management, 1992-1996)

USAF Scientific Advisory Board Summer Study on Air Base Operability, 1986-1987

Chair, Museum Advisory Committee, Air Force Sergeants Association, 1987-1991

Presidential Materials (Nixon Papers) Review Board, National Archives and Records Administration, 1988-1991

Advisory Board, Documentary History of the First Federal Congress, 1988-present

Harmon Memorial Lecture Committee, USAF Academy, 1989-1992

Board of Directors, National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History (now the National Coalition for History), 1989-2000 (Treasurer, 1996-1998; Chair, 1998-2000)

Organization of American Historians: Public History Committee, 1989-1992 (Chair, 1991-1992); Chair, Executive Secretary Search Committee, 1992-1993

National Aeronautics and Space Administration History Advisory Committee, 1991-1994

Consultant, Center for National Security Studies, Los Alamos National Laboratory, 1991-1992

Editorial Board, *The D-Day Encyclopedia*, Simon & Schuster, 1992-1994

Executive Review Board, Gulf War Air Power Survey, Department of the Air Force, 1992-1993

Consultant, Office of Net Assessment, Department of Defense, Roundtable on the Air Force and the Revolution in Military Affairs, 1993

Ad Hoc Committee on Advocacy, National Council for Public History, 1993-1994

Board of Directors, Center on Law, Ethics and National Security, Duke University School of Law, 1993-2005

Editorial Advisory Board, "Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800," East Stroudsburg University, 1993-2005

Consultant, Shaw University Project on African-American World War II Medal of Honor Nominees, 1993-1994

Steering Committee, "Post-Cold War U.S. Civil-Military Relations in America," Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1993-1994

Adviser, *Oxford Companion to American Military History*, Oxford University Press, 1994-1999

Editorial Review Board, *Periodical*, Council on America's Military Past, 1994-1995

Adviser, *Oxford Companion to American History*, Oxford University Press, 1995-2000

Senior Advisory Council, "The U.S. Military in Post-Cold War American Society," John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, 1995-1997

External Advisory Committee, Air Force 2025 Study, Air University, USAF, 1995-1996

Board of Visitors, Air University, USAF, 1996-2001

Board of Advisors, Rutgers University Military Oral History Project, 1996-1999

Board of Directors, *American Diplomacy*, 1996-2006

Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic Education, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1997-present

Co-Principal Investigator, Project on the Gap between the Military and Society, Triangle Institute for Security Studies, 1998-2001

Member, National Security Study Group and consultant, US Commission on National Security/21st Century (The Hart-Rudman Commission), 1998-2001

Commissioner, First Flight Centennial Commission, State of North Carolina, 1999-2002

Consultant, Price of Freedom Exhibition, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, 2003-2004

Congressional appointee, Independent Review Panel, Quadrennial Defense Review, US Department of Defense, 2010

Member, Joint Forces Staff College Strategic Study Group, National Defense University, 2010

Board of Directors, National History Center, 2011-present

National Advisory Council, Citizen Soldier Support Program, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2011-2014

External Advisory Board, Program in the Humanities and Human Values, UNC-Chapel Hill, 2011-2015

Member, Presidential Counselors, National World War II Museum, 2015-present

PUBLICATIONS

Books, Monographs, and other Volumes

Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783-1802 (New York: The Free Press, 1975). Paperback edition 1985.

The United States and Treaties Between the State of New York and the Oneida and Stockbridge Indians, 1795-1847 [Library of Indian Affairs, *Expert Testimony before the Indian Claims Commission*] (New York: Clearwater Publishing Company, n.d.).

Editor, *Anglo-American Antimilitary Tracts, 1697-1830* (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

Editor, *Military Laws of the United States, from the Civil War through the War Powers Act of 1973* (New York: Arno Press, 1979).

Editor (with Joseph P. Harahan), *Air Superiority in World War II and Korea: An Interview with Gen James Ferguson, Gen Robert M. Lee, Gen William Momyer, and Lt Gen Elwood R. Quesada* (Washington: Office of Air Force History, 1983).

Editor (with Joseph P. Harahan), *Air Interdiction in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam: An Interview with Gen Earl E. Partridge, Gen Jacob E. Smart, and Gen John W. Vogt* (Washington: Office of Air Force History, 1986).

Editor (with Joseph P. Harahan), *Strategic Air Warfare: An Interview with Gen Leon W. Johnson, Gen Curtis E. LeMay, Gen David Burchinal, and Gen Jack J. Catton* (Washington: Office of Air Force History, 1988).

Editor, *The United States Military under the Constitution of the United States, 1789-1989*, (New York: New York University Press, 1991). Paperback edition 1992. Also published as No. 69 of the *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire*, 1990.

With Elliott V. Converse, III, Daniel K. Gibrán, John A. Cash, and Robert K. Griffith, *The Exclusion of Black Soldiers from the Medal of Honor in World War II: The Study Commissioned by the United States Army to Investigate Racial Bias in the Awarding of the Nation's Highest Military Decoration* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishers, 1997).

Editor (with Peter D. Feaver), *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).

Articles and Essays

"The Inside History of the Newburgh Conspiracy: America and the Coup d'Etat," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, XXVIII (1970):187-220. Reprinted Peter S. Onuf, ed., *The New American Nation, 1775-1820*, v. 4 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991), 79-112; in abridged form, *Society*, XII (May/June 1975):30-36; Peter Karsten, ed., *The Military in America From the Colonial Era to the Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1980, 2nd ed. 1986), 45-56. See also rebuttal to Paul David Nelson, "Horatio Gates at Newburgh, 1783: A Misunderstood Role," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, XXIX (1972):151-158; rebuttal to C. Edward Skeen, "The Newburgh Conspiracy Reconsidered," *ibid.*, XXXI (1974):290-298.

"General Wilkinson's Vendetta with General Wayne: Politics and Command in the American Army, 1791-1796," *Filson Club History Quarterly*, XLV (1971):361-372. Reprinted Samuel Watson, ed. *Warfare in the USA, 1784-1861* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2005), 101-112.

With David Syrett, "The Dangers of an All-Volunteer Army," *Military Review*, LII (June 1972):70-74. Reprinted *Women's Army Corps Journal*, IV (Jan-Mar 1973):22-24. See also reply to Lieutenant-Colonel Harry G. Summers, Jr., "Another View of an All-Volunteer Army," *Military Review*, LII (July 1972):3.

"The Washington Administration's Decision to Crush the Whiskey Rebellion," *Journal of American History*, LIX (1972):567-584.

- "The All-Volunteer Army: Too High a Price?" *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, C (March 1974):35-42.
- "Military History at the Crossroads," *Reviews in American History*, II (1974):222-226.
- "The Murder of the Militia System in the Aftermath of the American Revolution," James Kirby Martin, ed., *The Human Dimensions of Nation Making: Essays on Colonial and Revolutionary America* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976), 304-322. Also published in Stanley J. Underdal, ed., *Military History of the American Revolution: The Proceedings of the 6th Military History Symposium, United States Air Force Academy* (Washington: Office of Air Force History and United States Air Force Academy, 1976), 110-126; reprinted David Curtis Skaggs and Robert S. Browning III, *In Defense of the Republic: Readings in American Military History* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1991), 69-82.
- "The Greatness of George Washington: Lessons for Today," *Assembly*, XXXVI (March 1978):6-7, 28-29.
- "American Generals of the Revolution: Subordination and Restraint," Don Higginbotham, ed., *Reconsiderations on the Revolutionary War: Selected Essays* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 104-123, 188-200.
- "The Creation of the American Military Establishment, 1783-1802," Peter Karsten, ed., *The Military in America From the Colonial Era to the Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), 73-84.
- "The Social History of the American Soldier: A Review and Prospectus for Research," *American Historical Review*, LXXXVI (1981):553-567; see also a shortened version, in Garry D. Ryan and Timothy K. Nenninger, eds., *Soldiers and Civilians: The U.S. Army and the American People* (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1987), 53-56.
- With George M. Curtis, III, "The Government, the Historical Profession, and Historical Editing: A Review," *Reviews in American History*, IX (1981):146-155.
- "Anthony Wayne," Roger J. Spiller, ed., *Dictionary of American Military Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), III, 1166-1170.
- Editor, "Judge Alexander Addison on the Origin and History of the Whiskey Rebellion," Steven Boyd, ed., *The Whiskey Rebellion: Past and Present Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 49-60.
- "Technology and USAF Planning: Commentary," Harry R. Borowski, ed., *Military Planning in the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of the Eleventh Military History Symposium, 10-12 October 1984, United States Air Force Academy* (Washington: Office of Air Force History, 1986), 236-243.
- Editor (with Joseph P. Harahan), "U.S. Strategic Air Power, 1948-1962: Excerpts from an Interview with Generals Curtis E. LeMay, Leon W. Johnson, David A. Burchinal, and Jack J. Catton," *International Security*, XII (1988):78-95.
- "The Future of the Historical Profession," *Perspectives: American Historical Association Newsletter*, XXVII (November, 1989):6, 12, 13.
- "The Constitution and National Security: The Intent of the Framers," Richard H. Kohn, ed., *The United States Military under the Constitution of the United States, 1789-1989* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), 61-94; published in an earlier version, "The Constitution and the U.S. Army: National Security and the Intent of the Framers," in

- [Rod Paschall, ed.] *The Constitution and the U.S. Army* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College and U.S. Army Military History Institute, n.d. [1988]), 15-24.
- Editor, "The Scholarship on World War II: Its Present Condition and Future Possibilities," *The Journal of Military History*, LV (1991):365-393."
- A Note on the Yamamoto Aerial Victory Credit Controversy," *Airpower History*, XXXIX (1992):42-52.
- "Commentary" on "Air Warfare and Humanity," in Horst Boog, ed., *The Conduct of the Air War in the Second World War: An International Comparison* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1992), 405-411.
- With Anna K. Nelson, "The U.S. Must Declassify Its Cold-War Documents," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, XXXIX (Sept. 16, 1992):A56.
- "History as Institutional Memory: The Experience of the United States Air Force," in David Charters, Marc Milner, and J. Brent Wilson, eds., *Military History and the Military Profession* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 159-168.
- "Women in Combat, Homosexuals in Uniform: The Challenge of Military Leadership," *Parameters: US Army War College Quarterly*, XXIII (Spring 1993):2-4; reprinted in Robert L. Taylor and William E. Rosenbach, eds., *Military Leadership: In Pursuit of Excellence* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 227-229; as "Homosexuals Can Enhance Military Effectiveness," in Tamara L. Roleff, ed., *Gay Rights [Current Controversies Series]* (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1997), 118-120.
- "Out of Control: The Crisis in Civil-Military Relations," *The National Interest*, No. 35 (Spring 1994):3-17; see also "Upstarts in Uniform," *New York Times* Op-Ed, April 10, 1994, p. E19, reprinted in various regional newspapers, and "An Exchange on Civil-Military Relations" [Letters from Gen. Colin Powell, Secretary John Lehman, Lt. Gen. William Odom, and Professor Samuel Huntington with response by Richard H. Kohn], *The National Interest*, No. 36 (Summer 1994):23-31.
- "History and the Culture Wars: The Case of the Smithsonian Institution's *Enola Gay* Exhibit," *Journal of American History*, 82 (December 1995):1036-1063. Also published in edited form as "History at Risk: The Case of the *Enola Gay*," in Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: the Enola Gay and other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 140-170, 273-283.
- Editor, "The Practice of History in the U.S. Government: The Department of Defense," *The Journal of Military History*, LXI (1997):121-147.
- "The Forgotten Fundamentals of Civilian Control of the Military in Democratic Government," Working Paper Number 11, Project on U.S. Post Cold-War Civil-Military Relations (Cambridge: John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, 1997); also published in earlier form as "Los Fundamentos Olivados del Control Civil sobre los Militares en Gobiernos Democráticos," in Kevin Casas Zamora, ed., *Relaciones Civico-Militares Comparadas: Entendiendo los Mecanismos de Control Civil en Pequeñas Democracias (América Latina)* (San José, Costa Rica: Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano, 1997), 37-65; in edited form as "An Essay on Civilian Control of the Military," *American Diplomacy*, 2 (February 1997):unpaginated [internet journal].
- "How Democracies Control the Military," *Journal of Democracy*, 8 (October 1997):140-153; reprinted *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, ed. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 275-288..

With Andrew J. Bacevich, "Grand Army of the Republicans," *The New Republic* (December 8, 1997):22-24.

"An Officer Corps for the Next Century," *Joint Force Quarterly*, No. 18 (Spring 1998):76-80.

"Civil-Military Relations: Civilian Control of the Military," in John Whiteclay Chambers II, editor, *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 122-125.

With Peter D. Feaver, "The Gap: Soldiers, Civilians, and Their Mutual Misunderstanding," *The National Interest*, No. 61 (Fall 2000):29-37.

"The Political Trap for the Military," Raleigh, NC *News & Observer*, September 22, 2000, p. A19; orig. published *Washington Post*, September 19, 2000, p. A23 and reprinted in various newspapers nationally and internationally.

Editor (with Peter D. Feaver), "Media and Education in the U.S. Civil-Military Gap," special issue, *Armed Forces & Society*, 27(Winter 2001):177-294.

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- *Generals James Ferguson, Robert L. Lee, William Momyer, and Lieutenant General Elwood R. Quesada, Bolling Air Force Base, DC, 1982
- *Generals Earle E. Partridge, Jacob E. Smart, and John W. Vogt, Jr., Bolling Air Force Base, DC, 1983
- *Generals Curtis E. LeMay, Leon W. Johnson, David A. Burchinal, and Jack J. Catton, Bolling Air Force Base, DC, 1984
- *With Diane Putney, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Washington, DC, 1985
- With Maurice N. Marynow, General David C. Jones, Arlington, VA, 1985-1986
- *Generals Bernard Shreiver, Samuel C. Phillips, Robert T. Marsh, and James H. Doolittle, and Dr. Ivan H. Getting, Bolling Air Force Base, 1985
- *Chief Master Sergeants of the Air Force Paul W. Airey, Donald L. Harlow, Thomas N. Barnes, and Robert D. Gaylor, Bolling Air Force Base, DC, 1986

TEACHING AND UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES

Lecture Courses

U.S. History to 1865
Military History of the United States (one semester)
War and American Society to 1903
War and American Society since 1903
History of the Cold War (team taught)
Introduction to National and International Security

Undergraduate Discussion Courses

American Studies: Varieties of Americans (team taught)
American Studies: Americans at War
U.S. History since 1865
Comparative Civil-Military Relations in Germany and the United States
The President of the United States as a War Leader
Abraham Lincoln as War Leader
Harry S. Truman as War Leader
The American Soldier
The American War for Independence
Air Power in the 20th Century
The United States in Vietnam

Graduate Seminars and Colloquia

Problems and Directed Readings in American History to 1860 (team taught)
Historical Writing for Dissertation Students

Politics in the Early National Period
Indian-White Relations in America to 1800
Introduction to Military History (team taught)
American Military History
Civil-Military Relations in the United States
European Military History (team taught)
History of Military Strategy
History of American War-Making
History of Air Power
Military Leadership and Command
Introductory Seminar in Military History
Advanced Seminar in Military History

Committee Activities

Departmental AAUP Representative, 1973-1974
College Committee on Scholastic Standing, 1973-1976, 1978-1980 (Chair, 1979-1980)
Departmental Advising Committee, 1974-1977
Departmental Chair, U.S. Political History Search Committee, 1975-1976
Departmental Teaching Effectiveness Committee, 1975-1977
University Ad Hoc Committee on Honorary Degree Program, 1976
College Athletic Committee, 1976-1977
College Faculty Representative, Panel Discussion for Parents of Incoming Freshmen, 1977, 1978
University Research Council Consultant, Social Sciences, 1979
University Research Council, 1979-1980
University Research Council Sabbatical Grant Committee, 1980
Ad Hoc Curriculum Committee, 1981
Faculty Advisory Committee, Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense, 1991-2008
Curriculum Revision Committee, Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense, 1991-1992
(Chair, 1992-2006)
History Department Committee on Teaching, 1992-1995
Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Executive Committee, 1992-2006
Faculty Advisory Committee, Program in the Humanities and Human Values, 1996-2006
(Chair, 2000-2005)
College of Arts and Sciences, Ad Hoc Committee on Undergraduate Advising, 2000
Board of Advisors, Carolina for Kibera, 2002-2006
Faculty Advisory Committee, University Center for International Studies, 2002-2004
National Advisory Board, Academic Leadership Program, Institute for the Arts and Humanities, 2003-2011
University Teaching Awards Committee, 2003-2004
Military History Search Committee, Duke University History Department, 2003-2004
Chair, National/International Security Search Committee, 2004-2005
Stephenson Distinguished Professor Search Committee, 2003-2005

Administrative Responsibilities

Administrator, Perspectives in Military History Lecture Series, US Army Military History Institute, 1980-1981
Co-convener, Carolina Seminar on "The Future of U.S. National Security Policy," 1992-1994
Chair, Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense, 1992-2006
Executive Secretary (Director), Triangle Institute for Security Studies, 1992-2000
Advisory Board, Intelligence Community--Academic Centers of Excellence Program
Triangle Institute for Security Studies and UNC-Chapel Hill, 2015-present

WORK IN PROGRESS

Civil-Military Relations in the United States. Essays--previously published, revised, and new--on the subject from the origins of the American antimilitarism in the 18th century through present problems of civilian control of the military. Under contract with Routledge.

The President at War from George Washington to Barack Obama. This book analyzes the challenges of successful war leadership by presidents of the United States over the course of American history.

The Myth of the Sleeping Dinosaur, and other Essays on How the United States has Made and Experienced War, including The American Way of War. This book explores the American experience of war over four centuries from a cultural, political, social, economic, and diplomatic, as well as military perspective.